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〈論文〉

Women in the Soviet Economy, 1917-1932

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Introduction

(1) In 1967, the "Declaration on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women"¹⁾ was made, as an outgrowth of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (1948)²⁾. There is no doubt that the period since then has been an era of rapid development of "human rights" in world history. In particular, the 1975 UN General Assembly announcement of the "UN's Decade for Women"³⁾ and the enactment of the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" in 1979 dramatically opened the door to greater participation in society for all women, and had a great impact on all the governments of the world.

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1) "Everyman's United Nations", 1968, p. 586.

2) "Yearbook of the United Nations 1967", p. 514~525.

3) "Yearbook of the United Nations 1979" Vol. 33, p. 889~899.

The Convention proposes not only eliminating discrimination against women, but also the necessity of comprehensive reform of traditional sexual role division to attain equality of participation in all economic, political and social activities. Moreover, it requires its signatories to make tangible effort to eliminate gender discrimination in every aspect of employment including hiring, promotion, wage and separation policies⁴⁾.

However, now that the "UN's Decade for Women" has passed, we need to ask following questions ...To what extent have the problems raised by the Convention been solved? Which are still in the process of being solved? Which have not been addressed and for what reasons?

However, while asking these questions, we must recognize that the difficulties of solving these problems will vary from nation to nation, according to differences in culture, history, economic system, social commonsense and the level of economic development of the nation in question, all of which present obstacles to individual women that cannot be eliminated overnight.

In Japan, for example, the convention was ratified in June of 1985, and its off-shoot, the so-called "Equal Employment Opportunity Law"⁵⁾ was passed in May 1985 and went into effect in April 1986. This Law, however, is ambiguous and less than satisfactory. It leaves many questions for the future, and has no enforceable provisions with regard to the recruitment, hiring, assignment and promotion of women. Indeed it

4) Ibid ; p. 896~899.

5) "The Law Concerning the Promotion of Equal Opportunity and Treatment between Men and Women in Employment and Other Welfare Measures for Women Workers".

merely gives several ideal targets toward which employers should bend their efforts⁶⁾. The “Revision of the Labour and Standard Law”, which was implemented at the same time, greatly eased overtime and holiday restriction for working women⁷⁾.

In general, domestic burdens weigh more heavily on women than men. Working hours in Japan are generally longer than in other nations. Therefore, the overall burden on working women here is likely to be particularly heavier than before, precisely as a result of the above revision of the law⁸⁾.

(2) Here, we should also note that there have been diverse and heated arguments over the emancipation of women since the latter half of the 1960s. These discussions were stimulated by such authors as Betty Friedan, who published “The Feminine Mystique” in 1963, just prior to passage of the “Civil Rights Act of 1964” in the US, and “The Second Stage” in 1980, and Ivan Illich, whose writings include “Shadow Work” and “Gender”, both of which came out in the early 1980’s. It is not our purpose here to discuss or analyse the arguments developed in the US in detail. We must note however the Marxist thinking concerning the emancipation of women that is implicit in all these arguments⁹⁾.

As is well known, Marxist theory asserts that all kinds of social

6) e. g. “With regard to the recruitment and hiring of workers, employers should endeavour to give women equal opportunity with men” [(5) Chap. 7].

7) “The Labor Standard Law” Chap. 64-2.

8) Fujin-rodoumondai-kenkyukai (ed) “Fujin-rodoumondai-kenkyu” “Chingin-to-Shakaihoshou” No. 964, 1987, p. 6–39.

9) A. Kuhn & M. Wolf (ed) “Feminism and Materialism-Women and Modes of Production”, 1982, etc.

oppression are basically caused by capitalists control over the working class. Hence the emancipation of women can only be accomplished along with the liberation of other oppressed groups, by the ultimate abolishment of capitalist/worker class relationship. If this were true, we would expect that in a country like the USSR, where it is officially asserted that this was accomplished with the revolution, there would be no sexual inequity left to adress.

И. А. Курганов, for example, in his book "Женщины и Коммунизм" states, Как утверждают в СССР, среди величайших достижений советского социалистического строя одно из первых мест занимает решение женского вопроса. Женщины в СССР имеют по закону полное равноправие и женский вопрос в СССР считается решенным."¹⁰⁾

"Домашнее хозяйство перестало быть для женщин единственным приложением их сил. Женщины наряду с мужчинами начали работать в общественном или народном хозяйстве, то есть в предприятиях, учреждениях и организациях, обслуживающих не одну отдельную семью, а всё общество."¹¹⁾

Despite the party line arguments he develops, in another part of the book he seems to contradict himself. There he quotes a famous passage from Lenin : "Женщина продолжает оставаться домашней рабыней, несмотря на все освободительные законы, ибо ее давит, душит, отупляет, принижает мелкое домашнее хозяйство, приковывая ее к кухне и к детской, расхищая ее труд работою до дикости непроизводительною, мелочною, изнервляющею, отупляющею, забивающею. Настоящее освобождение женщины, настоящий коммунизм начинается только там и тогда, где и когда начинается массовая борьба... против этого мелкого

10) И. А. Курганов, "Женщины и Коммунизм", Нью-Йорк, 1968, стр. 3.

11) Там же, стр. 57.

домашнего хозяйства, или, вернее, массовая перестройка его в крупное социалистическое хозяйство”.

Kyprohob comments :

“Прошло 50 лет и ничто в этой области не изменилось. За 50 лет произнесено огромное количество красивой словесности о свободе, радости и счастье советской женщины, но практически положение женщины в домашнем хозяйстве не улучшилось, а ухудшилось. Домашнее хозяйство остается для женщины в СССР попрежнему очень тяжелой нагрузкой, причем тяжесть его даже увеличилась потому, что в СССР существует организованная бедность населения, нужда и перебои во всем, что требуется для жизни семьи”.¹²⁾

In other words, he recognizes the existence of unsolved problems with respect to the emancipation of women even in the USSR, most of which are caused by the double burden on women in general¹³⁾. In fact, according to an underground publication¹⁴⁾ that recently appeared in Japan, the actual situation of women in USSR appears to be more serious than official publications would have us believe.

(3) From the above, it is judged that the problems raised by the “Convention” are not necessarily solved in any country, regardless of the differences in social system. Thus, we believe that economic analysis of women’s problems around the world – both in terms of horizontal and historical comparison – is getting really urgent.

12) Там же, стр. 107.

13) See И. Е. Томский, “Социально-экономические проблемы женского труда”, 1979, стр. 162–174.

14) Edited by Т. Мамонова, Ю. Вознесенская, М. Катаока, “Josei to Roshia” (Akishobo 1982). And Edited by Carola Hansson and Karin Liden “Moscow Women”. (Aunsha, 1988).

In Japan, there has been a great deal of analysis of the actual situation of women both domestically and abroad, and much discussion of various points of view regarding the emancipation of women. Still it can be said that in Japan the number of serious scholarly comparisons of the condition of women in capitalist, socialist and communist countries is clearly insufficient. In the US, on the other hand, particularly during the last two decades, there has been sizable amount of research done with regard to women's problems in socialist countries, particularly in Slavic countries, that covers various fields ranging from the actual status of women to the historical background of the women's movement, from which the author has received lots of valuable ideas¹⁵⁾. In comparison, research in Japan in these fields lags greatly.

(4) With the new tide of so-called "Перестройка" or "Гласность" under the Горбачев administration, the necessity of reexamining the 1920s in the USSR, that is, the time of "НЭП", has come to be increasingly recognized. This author concurs.

In the 1920s, following the revolution and the establishment of Soviet regime, how were these women's issue, — which were taken up worldwide

15) ① D. Atkinson, A. Dallin & G. W. Lapidus (ed) "Women in Russia" 1977.

② A. Heitlinger "Women and State Socialism" 1979.

③ G. W. Lapidus "Women in Soviet Society", 1978.

④ R. Stites "Zhenotdel, Bolshevism and Russian Women 1917~1930" [Russian History III-2, 1976 p174~p193,

⑤ R. Stites "Women's Liberation Movement in Russia 1900~1930 [Canadian -American Slavic Studies, 1973 (7) 4, p460~474.

⑥ C. E. Hayder "The Zhenotdel and the Bolshevik Party" [Russian History III, 2, 1976 p150~173].

in the latter half of the century as mentioned above addressed in the USSR? And to what extent were these problems actually solved or left unsolved? And if some were left unsolved, why?

Thus, we begin our discussion with an analysis of the actual situation of women in the USSR during the 20s, focussing, in particular, on their participation in the manufacturing workplace.

I Basic Standpoint

To begin with, I would like to clarify my own analytical viewpoint with regard to the subject of “Women’s participation in the economy”.

First I think it indispensable to establish the general level of development and productive power of manufacturing industries whenever we analyse any particular national economy.

Next we need to clarify the position of the female workforce in the productive sector of the economy. In other words we should grasp the real status of the female workforce as an economic resource, by examining the labor market of the national economy in detail.

The equity of employment between the sexes is not only determined by the level of economic development, but also greatly influenced by such factors as culture, the social commonsense of the country educational level and various other elements. What is very important and yet very difficult to grasp is the influence of the factors mentioned above, which greatly affect the supply-demand ratio for women’s work, the type of work women do, the quality of women’s jobs and their wage level.

Third, it is necessary to examine the legal conditions surrounding women in the country under discussion. Such legal conditions include

constitutional stipulations, Labor Law, Family Law, and Inheritance Law, all of which relate with the social status of women. We must furthermore examine the nature and degree of enforcement of these stipulations.

What is most important for women's participation in the economy among those laws and stipulations are maternity protection stipulations, usually enacted from a so-called species preservation viewpoint, and stipulations concerning the physical peculiarity of women, both of which are usually found in Labor Laws.

Particularly so far as the latter stipulation are concerned, the necessity of such stipulations is usually influenced by the level of technical or productive conditions in national industries and their associated working conditions.

The fourth point is, who, in that society normally handles the domestic jobs which are indispensable for the re-production of labor throughout the workforce. At present, in most of countries in the world, this housework is mostly handled by women. Exposing the reality of such work inequity between the sexes and their foundations is an extremely important task in promoting women's participation in the social life of their nation. This, I believe, is not only important for women's emancipation as human beings, but also for the creation of an entirely different social order.

But the task of clarifying the foundations of sexual work inequity is quite a difficult task, because it naturally leads to the reform of people's traditional way of life, in particular, day to day male-female relations and the structure of the family. It is also difficult because these matters, being in the realm of culture, are something which are not easily comprehended.

Thus in this paper, I shall briefly examine the division in the Russian household, that is, who or what part of the workforce takes charge of housework and other tasks which accomplish the necessary daily renewal of the labor force, and how much housework has been reduced or how much it has been relegated to public facilities.

The four points I mentioned now are all complexly interrelated, so that, in this argument and analysis, synthesizing these viewpoints will be very important.

II Female Worker's Situation in 1920s Soviet Russia

Based on viewpoints referred to so far, with regard to the general level of economic development of Soviet Russia in 1920s, two important points should be stressed. One is the fact that the Soviet Union inherited the grave economic problems of the Old Russian Empire, whose economic development was far behind that of the European nations. The other is that they suffered from tremendous damage caused by WW I and the civil war after the revolution.

Let us divide the period into three stages. (1) 1917–1921 (2) 1921–1928/9 (3) 1928/9–1932

(1) First Stage : 1917–1921

[1] There was a bloom of legal development with regard to women's status during this period.

Women in the Old Russian Empire were legally deprived of political rights, limited in their civil rights, and charged to obey to their husbands. In fact, Russian civil law of the time stipulated this as follows. “Жена

обязана повиноваться мужу своему, как главе семейства, пребывать к нему в любви, почтении и в неограниченном послушании, оказывать ему всякое угождение и привязанность..... (107 статья) и "жена обязана преимущественным повиновением воле своего супруга". (108 статья). При переезде куда нибудь мужа "жена должна следовать за ним" (103 статья) "не могут наниматься жены без позволения мужей" (1202 статья)¹⁶⁾.

It is, on the other hand, true that, during WWI, opportunities for women to participate in the economy were actually being expanded¹⁷⁾, mostly because of a labor scarcity caused by the mobilization of males to the battle front. The above stipulation was virtually invalidated as a result. It was, however, not until Jan. 12, 1918, when "Декларация Прав Трудящегося и Эксплуатируемого Народа"¹⁸⁾ was resolved at "Всероссийский Съезд Советов", that legal equality between genders was officially declared. As clearly indicated by such phrases as "Ставя своей основной задачей уничтожение всякой эксплуатации человека человеком, полное устранение деления общества на классы, беспощадное подавление эксплуататоров, установление социалистической организации.....", this "Декларация" was nothing less than "Declaration of Human Rights" aiming at ultimate abolition of any kind of exploitation by any group by any other. And it meant that that the equality of all citizens, regardless of the sex, ethnicity, or race of the person¹⁹⁾, was finally established by the "Конституция 1918". The above "Декларация" was also explicitly incorporated into the Constitution²⁰⁾ resolv-

16) Вл. Соколов, "Женское право", РСФСР, Москва, 1923, стр. 6.

17) Г. Н. Серебренников, "Женский труд в СССР", Москва, 1934, стр. 51.

18) Решения партии и правительства по хозяйственным вопросам, том 1, 1967, стр. 29.

19) Вл. Соколов, "Женское право", стр. 13.

20) В. Бильшай, "Решение женского вопроса в СССР", Москва, 1956, стр. 89.

ed at “5 Всероссийский Съезд Советов”, on July 10, 1918. It should be remembered, at the same time, that the legal equality of genders was also assured by other laws such as marriage and family law^{21),22)}.

Next, we need to refer to several labor-related laws which are very relevant to the subject of this article.

The first is that “Декрет Совета Народных Комиссаров”, enacted Oct. 29, 1917, had the following stipulations with regard to the protection of working females.

- ① Рабочее время, определяемое правилами внутреннего распорядка предприятий, не должно превышать 8 рабочих часов в сутки и 48 часов в неделю.....
(2 стачия)
- ② В ночное время воспрещается пользоваться трудом рабочих женского и мужского пола в возрасте до 16 лет. (6 стачия)
- ③ К подземным работам женщины и подростки обоего пола в возрасте до 18 лет не допускаются. (15 стачия)
- ④ Все лица женского пола и лица мужского пола, не достигшие 18 лет, к сверхурочным работам не допускаются. (18 стачия²³⁾)

The above labor protective stipulations were explicitly included in the “Кодекс Законов о Труде=КЗоТ” of 1918, along with following stipulations which are labor-protective.

- ① Воспрещение труда в особо вредных условиях.
- ② Освобождение женщин от работ в течение 8 недель до и 8 недель после родов с сохранением за это время среднего заработка, при бесплатной врачебной

21) Там же, стр. 91.

22) Вл. Соколов, “Женское право”, стр. 11–19.

23) Решения партии-----, том 1, стр. 18–21.

и лекарственной помощи, предоставление кормящим матерям перерывов для кормления ребенка.

③ Выдачу им дополнительного пособия, инспекцию труда и санитарную инспекцию.....²⁴⁾.

In addition, “Принцип равной оплаты за равный труд мужчин и женщин.” and “Минимум заработной платы взрослому рабочему без различия пола”²⁵⁾ established gender equality in the payment for labor.

Thus, we can see that legal equality between the sexes in the political, economic, social and labor fields, as well as the establishment of legal protection of female labor, was accomplished around this time. The content of these laws is especially laudable considering how long ago they were established. They were certainly far in advance of the times.

[2] We next analyse the real status of the female workforce as an economic resource.

Mainly due to a civil war during this period which lasted for three years and the concomitant war economy, the Soviet Government was obliged to introduce “Всеобщая трудовинность” by Law. It eventually brought about an actual implementation of the legal equality between both sexes in the workplace.

However, there were at least two important problems concealed behind the large scale participation of women in the workforce, which were brought on by the war economy and “Всеобщая трудовинность”. The first was that of the quality of female labor. In our “Basic Standpoint”, we asserted as that.

24) В. Н. Толкунова, “Право женщин на труд и его гарантии”, Москва, 1967, стр. 115.

25) В. Бильшай, “Решение женского вопроса в СССР”, стр. 90.

“The actual state of the division of labor between sexes is not only determined by the level of economic development, but also influenced greatly by such factors as culture, the social commonsense of the country, educational level, etc.”

We don't have sufficient space to discuss in detail the actual situation of the female workforce in the Russian Empire, except to mention a few points, such as the minimal quality of their labor in terms of skills and the horribly low level of their wages which were frequently below the minimal standard of living.

During this period wage discrepancies between the sexes, as well as between upper level and lower level laborers in general, were greatly diminished by means of a general wage equalization policy and a payment in kind policy. (See Table 1). This, however, doesn't necessarily mean that skill-level differential between sexes was itself disappearing.

In the contemporary world, regardless of difference in socioeconomic systems, the participation of women²⁶⁾ in the workforce continues to increase. This does not necessarily signify that gender discrimination in the workplace has already disappeared by any means. Obviously there is still discrimination against women.

Yet, A. Коллонтай lauded the increase of women's participation in the workplace during this period as a result of “Всеобщая трудовинность”, saying : положение женщины величайшую в истории человечества ломку. Новая система организации труда, основанная : 1. на строгом учете и целесообразном распределении всех наличных трудовых сил республики, включая и женщин, 2. на переходе от семейного потребления и единоличных хозяйств, к коллективному

26) Г. Н. Серебrenников, “Женский труд-----”, стр. 224.

Table 1 Месячный Заработок рабочих 1-го и 12-го разрядов
в руб. 1913 г.
(исчисление)

Годы	Месяцы	1-й разряд			12-й разряд			Тариф 12-го разряда в % к 1-му разряду (гр. 6 : гр. 3)	Заработок 12-го разряда в % к 1-му (гр. 8 : гр. 5)
		деньги	натура	итого	деньги	натура	итого		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1917	VIII	8.0	2.34	10.34	19.5	2.34	21.84	244	211
1918	VI	4.54	4.17	8.71	6.3	4.17	10.47	139	120
1919	II	1.33	5.51	6.84	2.33	5.51	7.84	175	115
1920	I — XII	0.36	6.11	6.47	0.63	6.11	6.74	175	104
1921	I — VI	0.14	5.77	5.91	0.24	5.77	6.01	175	102
1922	I — XII	2.32	4.85	7.17	6.97	4.85	11.82	300	165

Г.Н.Серебренников,
Женский труд в СССР
стр. 388

производству потреблению и 3. на планомерном, едином хозяйственном плане — в корне изменяя основы прежнего закабаленного и несамостоятельного положения женщины. Призыв на трудовом фронте всех без различия пола переворачивал всю привычную картину жизни и взаимоотношения полов. Не стало больше былой зависимости женщины ни от хозяина-капиталиста, ни от кормильца-мужа²⁷⁾.

Such as "Переход от семейного потребления и единоличных хозяйств, к коллективному производству потреблению" от "Изменя основы прежнего закабаленного и несамостоятельного положения женщины., here mentioned could not be realized merely through the enactment of laws. So it must be even more difficult to say "Призыв на трудовом фронте всех без различия пола переворачивал всю привычную картину жизни и взаимоотношения полов²⁸⁾". The problems raised by are matters which are most likely to be influenced by the

27) А. М. Коллонтай, "Работница и крестьянка в советской России", Москва, 1921, стр. 25.

28) А. М. Коллонтай, "Положение женщины в эволюции хозяйства" 1922 стр. 146.

“traditional culture or the social commonsense of the country”. Their ultimate solution is so difficult that, as mentioned in the “Introduction”, we have to say it has yet to be achieved in contemporary Soviet Russia 70 years after the revolution²⁹⁾.

One could adopt the attitude that, with the wartime mobilization that resulted from “Всеобщая трудовинность”, violating some of labor protection stipulations was unavoidable. However, one must not lose sight of the terrible hardship this imposed on Soviet Russian women in those days, suffering from the double burden of domestic duties and work in factories characterized by a very low level of industrial technology.

Due to the “Инспекция труда” established by the “КЗоТ” of 1918, “Женщина-инспектрисса труда”, which had been a long time aspiration of “Р. С. Д. Р. П.”, was finally realized³⁰⁾. Thus, they and other activists became active in the “Комиссия по охране труда, по улучшению быта, по обеспечению материнства³¹⁾” of each firm, checking for any violation of labor laws. The real effect of their activities, however, was very limited, because of the severe shortage of activists.

With respect to the points above, it seems necessary to refer to the nature of “Отдел по работе среди женщин=Женотдел” which was organized around this time. The organization was originally formed in Oct. 1919, based on “Еуро работников при ЦК РКП(б)” which was established for the preparation of “Первый Всероссийский Съезд Работниц и Крестьянок” held in Moscow Nov. 1918. According to Г. Т. Уварова, the main purpose of the

29) Там же, стр. 161, (Постановление Наркомтруда 1919, 10, 4).

30) Е. Л. Бройдо, “Женская инспекция труда”, Петроград, 1917, стр. 12–15.

31) А. М. Коллонтай, “Работница и крестьянка в советской России”, стр. 7

organization – “Женотдел” was “Активное вовлечение трудящихся женщин в строительство” and “Политическое воспитание женских масс”³²⁾. The accomplishment of these purposes was possible only with active, comprehensive efforts to improve the condition of women both in the workplace and at home. Regrettably such activity was very weak then, due to the fact that the “Женотдел” was mainly occupied with political “Агитация” and “Пропаганда”. Of course, it can’t be denied that, “Женотдел” on the other hand, was actually taking the initiative in enacting “Закон о ненаказуемости аборта” or in founding such organizations as “Межведомственная Комиссия по борьбе с проституцией” and “Комиссия содействия по охране материнства и младенчества”³³⁾, which were all important to the women’s emancipation effort. Thus it seems that further analysis of “Женотдел” is necessary.

In concluding the analysis of the first stage, let us consider the fourth point mentioned above a little further.

Due to the civil war, the food shortage, particularly in urban areas, became terrible. And in response to the situation, public restaurants and free meal services for children were developed³⁴⁾. Since Lenin insisted³⁵⁾ very early on that the socialization of housework was indispensable to the expansion of women’s participation in the economy, and since the “communes” he proposed were actually appearing, though still very rare, establishment of these institutions tended to be thought of as part of the socialization of housework. It should also be remembered that the

32) Г. Т. Уварова, “Женотделы партийных комитетов центрального черноземья” 1921–1927, 1975, стр. 6–10.

33) А. М. Коллонтай, “Положение женщины-----,” стр. 8.

34) Там же, стр. 166–178.

35) В. И. Ленин, Соч. том. 29, стр. 396.

thinking of most Soviet Russians of the time both male and female, was not such as to be especially concerned about the emancipation of women. It was rather thought that such institutions were temporary, created in response to the momentary necessities of the wartime economy.

(2) Second Stage : 1921–1928 or 29

[1] The legal provisions (particularly those concerning labor), that had been formed in the first stage, were mostly established through “Кодекс Законов о Труде=КЗоТ” : the 1922 Labor Law. (Most of the contents of this labor law are still found in the present labor law of Soviet Russia).

The “КЗоТ” established :

- ① The policy equalizing the rights of all workers and employees.
- ② Legal assistance for every worker in gaining highest possible economic remuneration by establishing a social welfare system and a labor contract system.
- ③ Government inspection and enforcement of compliance to the stipulations of the law, (and of particular importance, the introduction of female inspectors)³⁶⁾.

The contents and ideals, of the 1918 and the 1922 laws are laudable. In particular, it is truly remarkable that the “Список особо вредных работ, к которым женщины не допускаются” was established to supplement the “КЗоТ 129 статья”³⁷⁾.

Here, however, we should note that night time and other irregular working hours for women came to be permitted through partial amendment of the labor law in 1925, which boldly allowed full usage of machines

36) Магеровский (ed), “Советногон” 3, (Ківокаки, 1931].

37) Л. Полонская, “Пролетарка в хозяйстве СССР и профсоюзы, 1926, стр. 91–92.

and equipment by women in order to achieve higher productivity³⁸⁾.

[2] We next analyze the status of the female workforce as an economic resource during this period.

So-called НЭП, established in 1921, introduced a new accounting system ; “хозрасчёт” for the management of state-owned enterprises. As is well known, the system was actually an experiment with the resumption of the market mechanism in management, so that each firm basically adopted management policies geared toward attaining the highest profit (or least deficit).

Another important aspect of the Soviet economy of the period, was its high degree of dependence on skilled workers because of the generally low level of industrial technology. So the end of the civil war, which enabled demobilisation of male workers, inevitably led to the retirement of female workers, who were mostly unskilled, from work³⁹⁾. (See Table 2, Table 3)

In fact, “Наркомтруд” issued following two concerning women’s labor.

- ① При равных условиях производительности труда производственной квалификации все женщины-работницы увольняются по сокращению штатов на общих основаниях. Исключение допускается лишь для одиноких женщин, имеющих детей до одного года : им в указанном случае делается предпочтение, в смысле оставления их на работе⁴⁰⁾,
- ② Беременные женщины могут увольняться лишь в исключительных случаях, с получением каждый раз разрешения соответствующего инспектора труда или

38) ① Nobuo Shiokawa “Shakaishugi-kokka to Rodousha-kaikyū” p308~p314.

39) А. М. Коллонтай, “Положение женщины в эволюции хозяйства”, стр. 209, Средний тарифный разряд рабочих и служащих мужч. и женщ. на 1920, 12, 15.

40) Л. Полонская, “Пролетарка в хозяйстве-----”, стр. 19.

Table 2 Распределение рабочих по группам тарифных разрядов

Название союзов	Пол	% л и ч в р а з р я д а х										% женщин	
		Сред. та- рифн. разр.		1 — 3		4 — 6		7 — 9		свыше 9		в крупной промышлен.	
				неквалифц.		полуквалифц.		квалифц.					
		1924 г.	1925 г.	1/Ⅶ 1924 г.	1/Ⅲ 1925 г.	1/Ⅶ 1924 г.	1/Ⅲ 1925 г.	1/Ⅶ 1924 г.	1/Ⅲ 1925 г.	1/Ⅶ 1924 г.	1/Ⅲ 1925 г.	1924 г.	1925 г.
Металлисты	м.	5.8	5.5	14.8	14.5	47.1	54.4	37.3	30.3	0.8	0.8	—	—
	ж.	3.1	3.2	69.1	70.7	30.4	28.7	0.5	0.6	—	—	11.5	10.1
Горнорабочие	м.	7.5	6.9	10.5	10.5	26.5	39.4	32.1	36.3	30.9	13.8	—	—
	ж.	3.9	3.8	41.1	43.9	51.8	49.9	6.9	6.2	0.2	—	9.4	9.0
Деревообделочники	м.	5.8	5.7	11.1	11.3	54.9	54.9	31.9	31.2	2.1	2.6	—	—
	ж.	3.4	3.5	62.0	55.8	37.6	43.8	0.4	0.4	—	—	14.9	14.2
Текстильщики	м.	5.8	5.4	11.9	15.1	52.0	56.0	32.7	27.0	3.4	1.9	—	—
	ж.	3.9	3.7	33.6	37.4	64.2	61.7	2.2	1.0	—	—	57.4	47.4
Химики	м.	6.6	6.3	9.2	10.2	38.2	43.0	43.7	42.3	8.9	4.5	—	—
	ж.	4.5	4.1	23.4	31.1	70.7	64.0	5.7	3.7	0.2	0.3	27.1	30.9
Строители	м.	6.3	5.7	7.4	12.0	43.8	54.8	45.5	31.5	3.3	1.7	—	—
	ж.	4.4	4.0	31.1	39.1	59.8	60.7	9.1	0.3	—	—	24.1	12.8

Л.Полонская, Пролетарка

в Хозяйстве СССР

стр. 29

Table 3 Динамика численности работниц в цензовой промышленности СССР

в тысячах

Отрасли промышленности	1913 г.	1917 г.	1923 г.	1924 г.
Добывание и обработка минералов	41.4	27.3	17.6	19.8
Обработка металлов и машиностроение	15.0	119.5	31.1	27.5
Химическая промышленность	30.3	48.6	17.3	17.5
Текстильная промышленность	401.8	509.4	232.1	267.8
Обработка бумаги и полиграф. произв.	23.4	34.6	19.1	20.7

Г.Н.Серебренников, Женский труд в СССР, стр. 227

Примечание. Таблица взята из материалов ЦУНХУ.

конфликтной комиссии отдела труда⁴¹⁾.

These laws officially sanctioned preferential dismissal of female workers over male workforce, even in cases where there was no difference between them with regard to the quality of their work or their produc-

41) Там же, стр. 20.

tivity. It should be recognized that this disposal was obviously contradictory to the general principles of Soviet administration policies⁴²⁾.

It is also well known that unemployment in the Soviet Union increased during the 1920s. "Всеобщая трудовинность" had already been abolished and the allocation of labor among various fields of the economy was mainly controlled by the public job placement office. Unemployed persons registered in that office and were then sent to firms wanting workers. But because the profit oriented accounting systems mandated higher productivity, those firms were liable to refuse unskilled female workers, in spite of a penalty article in the law regarding such refusal.

Naturally the ratio of females among the unemployed increased. The result, needless to say, was nothing but a violation of their legally assured equality of right. And actually, since НЭП abandoning their wage equalization policy, introduced a wage policy linking labor productivity with wages, the wage differential between the sexes also inevitably increased, because of the low skill-level of Russian female workers at that time.

[3] It would not be fair to neglect the fact that even then there were other attempts to stop the degradation of female workers and violations of the equalization law.

Two resolutions made in Dec. 1920 and May 1924, insisting on the urgent importance of incorporating more women into the economy, proposed some policies to be adopted toward that end. One of them was

42) Там же, стр. 19, "Дети увольняемых женщин ни в коем случае не могут подлежать удалению из яслей, школ, детских домов и т. д., содержащихся за счет предприятий и учреждений, из которых увольнение произошло, до приискания работы в других предприятиях".

"О привлечение женщин к хозяйственному строительству, 1920, 12"⁴³⁾ and the other was "Изменения в составе промышленных рабочего класса, 1924. 5. 27"⁴⁴⁾. The former required "Совет" to take action toward "Сокращения непроизводительного труда женщины на домоводство и работу о долях"

[4] In closing the description of the second stage, it is necessary to mention about the process of "Женотдел" that formed in 1919 before the beginning of НЭП. It is undeniable, as seen before, that the exclusion of the female workforce and the backsliding of labor laws after the НЭП made it difficult to develop policies on women's emancipation (most of which were established in the first stage).

For example, the center of "Женотдел" activity was transferred from "Из вовлечения работниц к строительству советских учреждений" to "в область воссоздания народного хозяйства"⁴⁵⁾, which resulted in the further development of labor productivity propaganda. The direction of this move was obviously in support of НЭП and ran counter to the women's emancipation policy. "Женотдел" were then embarrassed because of the contradiction between their role and the party policies.

Eventually, "Женотдел" came to be abolished in 1930⁴⁶⁾. As Prof. Shimotomai says, "two different periods can be recognized before and after the middle of 1926, with regard to labor union policies. The former half was a time when labor union activity tended to be very high and

43) Решения партии-----, том 1, стр. 19.

44) А. А. Матюгин, "Изменение в составе промышленных рабочих СССР в восстановительный период 1921-1925гг., Изменения в численности и составе советского рабочего класса, Москва 1961, стр. 173.

45) А. М. Коллонтай, "Работница и крестьянка-----", стр. 27-28.

46) See Notes (1)-p. 119-124, (4), (6).

public participation in it was highly encouraged, whereas the latter half was a time when industrialization, productivity development and public mobilisation to industries was particularly stressed”⁴⁷⁾.

Indeed, it is rather ironic to find such a metamorphosis of Женотдел and Профсоюз, in the 1920s, exactly when we can see an increase in the number of “Женотдел” activists, and female labor union executives, and in the proportion of female labor union members.

(3) Third Stage : 1928 or 29—1932

[1] Radical development of women’s participation in the economy characterize this period. (See Table 4). Because of the industrialisation policy, such development could be found in every field of industry, particularly in those industries where participation of women had not be observed until then. (See Table 5). Secondly we can observe to some extent an enhancement of the quality of the female workforce. At this point, it may be possible to acknowledge a certain degree of success on the part of the special engineering training program of working women mentioned before. (See Table 6). In other words, we can see a reduction of gender differentials in the workforce during this period, albeit a very gradual one.

[2] It seems significant that Russian scientific and medical research on women’s labor started in early 1931. Nationwide research was initiated by “Всероссийский Центральный Институт Экономики Организации и Оздоровления Труда=ВЦИЭООТ”⁴⁸⁾. The research covered not only manufacturing, but

47) N. Shimotomai “Sobietto-seiji to Roudoukumiai”, 1982 [Soviet Politics and Trade Union] p. 10.

48) Г. Н. Серебрянников, “Женщины труд в СССР, стр. 202-216.

Table 4 Изменения в общей численности женщин-работниц, занятых в крупной промышленности,

	Н а 1 я н в а р я					
	1928 г.	1929 г.	1930 г.	1931 г.	1932 г.	1933 г.
Общее число рабочих в промышленности в тыс.	2,531.9	2,788.7	3,116.2	4,252.4	5,271.3	5,139.7
Общее число женщин-работниц в тыс.	725.9	804.0	885.0	1,271.5	1,735.4	1,826.2
Удельный вес женщин в рабочем составе.	28.7	28.8	28.4	29.9	32.9	35.5

Г.Н.Серебренников,
Женский труд в СССР
стр. 64

Table 5 Удельный вес женского труда в общем составе рабочих..

Отрасли промышленности	Удельный вес женщин в рабочем составе				
	на 1/I	на 1/I	на 1/I	на 1/I	на 1/VI
	1930 г.	1931 г.	1932 г.	1933 г.	1933 г.
По всей промышленности.	28.4	29.9	32.9	35.5	36.8
В том числе по отраслям					
Каменноугольная	8.4	10.5	14.5	17.5	17.9
Металлическая	9.0	14.9	20.4	21.9	22.2
В том числе:					
а) Металлургия черн. метал	8.2	13.8	17.4	21.2	20.9
б) Машиностроение	7.1	27.5	18.9	21.7	20.1
в) Электротехническая	21.9	36.6	33.1	34.2	33.6
Химическая	34.8	26.3	37.9	39.3	37.8
Обработка дерева	20.4	31.3	29.6	32.0	34.8
Бумажная	27.5	26.5	30.6	34.3	37.2
Кожевенно-меховая	15.5	65.9	34.6	44.4	—
Хлопчатобумажная	61.4	30.1	68.5	68.5	68.7
Пищевая	27.0	30.1	33.1	34.4	36.5
Швейная	65.5	72.0	76.0	81.4	82.1
Полиграфическая	25.4	35.9	45.6	47.4	49.2

Примечание. Эти изменения мы даем в следующей сравнительной таблице, составленной по данным Госплана СССР.

Г.Н.Серебренников,
женский труд в СССР
стр. 65

Table 6 Удельный вес и число женщин-студенток высшее учебное заведение, техникум

	1 9 2 8	1 9 3 3	
	удельный вес %	удельный вес %	численности
индустриальные вуз	13.4	19.8	46,200
сельскохозяйственные вуз	17.4	30.6	19,000
социально-экономические вуз	21.1	34.9	10,900
педагогические вуз	48.7	49.3	47,300
медицинские вуз	52.0	71.4	33,100
	1 9 2 8	1 9 3 3	
	удельный вес %	удельный вес %	численности
индустриальные техникумы	9.5	28.5	98,500
сельскохозяйственные техникумы	15.4	33.0	50,000
социально-экономические техникумы	36.3	52.0	23,900
педагогические техникумы	—	54.0	105,800
медицинские техникумы	—	85.0	50,700

Г.Н.Серебренников,
Женский труд в СССР
стр. 143

also the agriculture, railway, transportation, fishery and forestry industries. It should be noted in particular that based on this research, many of the official prohibitions on female labor were abolished.

We would like to note some examples, although limited, of scientific labor research done then.

First, with respect to the coal mining industry, "ВЦИЭООТ" and "Московской Институт Профессиональных Болезней им Обуха" did this sort of analysis. They concluded that, among 75 different tasks both underground and aboveground in the industry, women were allowed to engage in 32, whereas 12 were permitted only under specific conditions (for example, as long as women workers were not expected to carry extremely heavy objects) and 32 were specifically forbidden under the technical conditions of those days. Also in the machinery industry, they

divided all tasks into three categories — heavy, medium and light — and concluded that women should not be allowed to engage in the former two, because they were considered likely to be harmful to female organs due to excessive muscle-tension and pressure on the abdomen.

Actually, based on such scientific analyses, the “table of tasks proscribed for female labor” which originated in 20s was greatly revised. We can appreciate the value of such analyses at least in the respect that women were spared such dangerous tasks as conveying jobs in coalmines, in which many had been engaged in the Russian Empire. We, however, find less laudable here, for example, the fact that the analysis widened the area of underground jobs permitted for women which had been prohibited by K3oT 1922. We can hardly deny that these disposals were not misused as a part of the campaign to mobilize all persons able to work, including women, to the industrial workplace. We consider it as a great problem, because the level of industrial technology was still tremendously low. There remained many toilsome jobs in the industrial workplace, despite a certain degree of technical progress under the first and second five year plans. Of course, we need to know much more about the real technical level of the industries in those days and the realities of the workplace itself, in order to arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion about the problem.

[3] With regard to the socialisation of housework, we can recognize some development in nursing services or public restaurants during the period. (See Table 7. Table 8) However both in terms of quality and quantity, their development was insufficient.

It might not be an exaggeration to say that those policies were adopted, not to release women from their double burden, but rather to

Table 7 Ясли

Республики	Число мест в постоянных яслях, расположенных в:						Число мест в сезонных яслях		
	городских поселений			сельских поселений					
	1928 г.	1982 г.	1932 г. в % к 1928 г.	1928 г.	1932 г.	1932 г. в % к 1928 г.	1928 г.	1932 г.	1932 г. в % к 1928 г.
РСФСР	41,589	189,332	455.2	5,109	227,808	4,458.9	141,057	2,562,771	1,816.8
УССР	7,492	51,859	692.1	1,500	46,093	3,072.8	43,404	1,100,000	2,534.3
БССР	1,411	5,514	390.7	55	16,029	29,143.6	12,750	85,518	670.7
ЭСФСР	625	8,114	1,298.2	165	1,790	1,084.8	440	56,000	12,727.2
Узбек. ССР	936	5,187	554.1	—	5,055	—	—	66,300	—
Туркм. ССР	330	1,568	475.1	75	3,030	4,040.0	35	33,707	96,305.7
Тадж. ССР	30	1,098	3,650.0	—	350	—	—	16,000	—
Итого по союзным республикам	52,413	262,702	501.2	6,004	350,155	3,071.7	197,786	3,902,296	1,982.0

Данные сектора здравоохранения ЦУНХУ.

Г.Н.Серебренников,

Женский труд в СССР

стр. 98

Table 8 Общественное Питание

Показатели: (по системам Центросоюза и Наркомснаба)	1928 г.	1929 г.	1930 г.	1931 г.	1932 г.	1932 г. (в %)	
						к 1928 г.	к плану на 1932/33 г.
Конингенги рабочих и трудящихся, охваченных об- щественным питанием по городскому сектору (в тыс. чел. на конец года)	750	1,500	5,600	11,000	14,800	1,973.3	613.5
Продукция системы об- щественного питания по го- родскому сектору (в тыс. блюд в сутки на конец года)	2,200	4,500	16,000	23,000	29,000	1,318.2	527.3
Оборот системы общест- венного питания по городу и селу (в млн. руб. в це- нах соответств. лет)	102	207	800	2,200	4,385	4,299.0	—
Капиталовложения в сис- тему общественного питания по Центросоюзу и НКСнабу (в млн. руб.)	н. св.	8.5	29.5	37.5	75.0	—	—

Г.Н.Серебренников,

Женский труд в СССР

стр. 106

make use of female workforce effectively in the name of speedier economic progress. If it had really been done to release women from their double burden, there would no such thing as “ничто в этой области не изменилось,” (see Introduction) today 50 years later.

Conclusion

(1) Soviet Russia established the legal equality of sexes earlier than any other country, through the revolution. There was a storm of Marxist propaganda announcing that women's emancipation was being accomplished along with the emancipation of workers. Although the move was being “temporarily” hampered by wartime economic conditions, it was widely believed, in the enthusiasm of the revolution, that emancipation was progressing smoothly as expected.

So as to give a precise evaluation of “НЭП”, which was adopted in 1921, we need to have the benefit of more research some of which is now under way. But it at least seems clear that the effect of НЭП was to set the course of women's emancipation back to prerevolutionary levels. Despite the fact that legal equity stipulations were still officially in effect, there were obvious violations of these stipulations and various labor-protection provisions were eventually abolished, principally due to economic factors. There is no doubt, here, that women's emancipation program was set back.

Moreover, we should consider that economics alone cannot account for this. Were the causes only economic, we could hardly explain why “women's issues” still exist in contemporary Soviet Russia, which has by now achieved a high degree of economic development.

In general, there existed a big discrepancy between official propaganda and agitation for women's emancipation, which were ideologically supported by Marxism, and the reality of women's lives and their consciousness in Soviet Russia during the 1920s. Surely there was more than economics contributing to this discrepancy.

As to the metamorphosis of "Женотдел" discussed above, it is also observed that there were various factors that extended beyond the economic realm or policy differences that existed between party leaders. The development of such an organization as "Женотдел" requires a wide range of interacting social circumstances. The necessary circumstance did not exist in Soviet Russia in those days.

In Soviet Russia in the 1920s, there was an clear customary division of labor between the sexes both within and outside of the home, which naturally led to gender discrimination and the belittlement of the dignity of women as a social class, whereas women's participation in the economy was officially acknowledged and even encouraged.

As is well known, industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture in Soviet Russia developed rapidly after the end of the 1920s through the 1930s. This process quite naturally involved women in various productive activities in the economy, ostensibly in the name of sexual equity. But the truth was that those women suffered from the "double burden" that resulted from the sexual division of labor within and outside of the home, and that without their sacrifice the industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture could not succeed. We would say that in the 1930s, in contrast with the 20s, the struggle to bring reality into line with the official policy of sexual equity was largely forgotten, and sexual equity ultimately became a mere slogan.

(2) In contemporary Soviet Russia (1982), 70 years after the revolution, it is reported that women account for 51% of the total working population, whereas 53% of the total population are female. And according to the official statistics of ЦСУ (1980), among all professionals who received special training and/or higher education, 59% are reported to be women⁴⁹⁾, whereas 69% of all medical doctors are women⁵⁰⁾. These statistics generally indicate the extensive degree to which women are engaged in semiprofessional and professional occupations.

Norton T. Dodge, however, in a detailed analysis, points out that although the percentage of females is comparatively high at the lower levels of professional categories such as “responsible positions in industry”⁵¹⁾ and “research workers in higher educational institutions”⁵²⁾ (86% & 49% respectively), they are very low in the higher echelons of those occupations (9% & 14% respectively). Also in the field of politics, e. g. ; Депутат Верховного Совета СССР, the percentage of women is still reported to be as low as 32%⁵³⁾.

If we compare these figures with those of Japan⁵⁴⁾, where females comprise only 35% of all employees, including the large number of part time workers (22% of all female employees), and where the percentage of female researchers is still less than 5%, it is apparent that Soviet Russia is more advanced in this respect.

49) ЦСУ СССР, “Женщины в СССР”, 1982 стр. 10.

50) Там же, стр. 11.

51) N. T. Dodge “Women in the Professions” [Women in Russia, Part II, p. 215].

52) Ibid ; p. 220.

53) Женщины в СССР, Статистические материалы ЦСУ СССР, 1982, стр. 5.

54) Nihoh-fujindantairengokai (ed) “Fujinhakusho 1985”, 1985. (Horupu-shuppan).

Yet, in the following tables, (See Table 9, Table 10) it is very disturbing to see, that the sexual division of labor in housework has shown almost no change in Soviet Russia, during the seven decades after the revolution. Thus we can say that among the circumstance identified as being crucial to women's emancipation, the legal circumstance affecting women have improved, as has the real status of the female workforce as an economic resource. However the fourth problem, the additional burden of household labor that women bear, is far from being solved. Кыправов too acknowledges that on this point conditions have instead gotten worse.

It is reported that "stipulations for part-time working women having small children" and a "resolution with regard to flexible-time labor contracts"⁵⁵⁾ were established very recently in Soviet Russia (in 1980 and 1984 respectively). Although these are ostensibly temporary provisions, judging from the present situation of women there, the possibility that they may remain in effect over the long term poses not a little danger to the women's emancipation movement. These proposals are likely to play a role in hiding the problem of the sexual division of labor.

As shown in the introduction, "the necessity of comprehensive reform of traditional sexual role divisions to attain equality of participation in all economic, political and social activities" is being acknowledged worldwide at present. We have already clarified that we need to conquer various cultural or regional obstacles so as to bring to fruition the UN declaration. As to the analysis of Soviet Russian women's issues, we need to do further research, always bearing these points in mind. In

55) S. Otsu, "Gendai Soren no Rodo-shijo" 1988, p. 204.

addition, we must not forget that women's emancipation is nothing if not a part of the emancipation of all people, male and female, everywhere.

Table 9 Месячный бюджет времени в рабочей семье на 1 рабочего
(столицы и провинция—625 бюджетов 1923/34 г., в часах)

Характер аатрат	Зарабаты- вающие		Домаш- ние хозяйки	Помогающие члены семьи		Все работники семьи		
	м.	ж.		м.	ж.	м.	ж.	оба пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I. Труд								
A. Обязательный								
1. Производственный								
а) по найму—урочный	192.6	191.4	1.1	—	—	179.7	66.7	117.7
б) по найму—сверх-урочный	5.6	1.3	—	—	—	5.2	0.4	2.6
в) прочий	15.1	23.0	58.6	44.8	12.3	17.1	43.8	31.8
Итого по производственному труду	213.3	215.7	59.7	44.8	12.3	202.0	110.9	152.1
2. Домашний								
а) приготовление пищи	14.4	82.9	163.5	30.9	26.8	15.5	128.4	77.5
б) уход за помещением	8.9	11.9	20.8	28.1	14.6	10.2	17.3	14.1
в) уход за одеждой	5.9	21.5	37.2	6.9	6.0	6.0	30.2	19.2
г) уход за детьми	5.3	16.4	57.3	3.3	54.7	5.1	43.0	26.0
д) уход за собой	19.0	17.3	19.4	24.4	24.3	19.4	19.0	19.2
Итого по домашнему труду	53.5	150.0	298.2	93.6	126.4	56.2	237.9	156.0

С.Г.Струмилин, Проблемы Экономики Труда, Избранные произведения Том. 3 стр. 210

Table 10 Length of houseworks done by husbands & wives in the couple where both are working out

Place	Year	a wife	a husband
Ленинград	1961	30.5 hours/week	10.5 hours/week
Новосибирск	1960	five hours and ten minutes hours/a day	two hours and forty-three minutes hours/a day

Анатолий Георгиевич Харчев, Брак и Семья в СССР 1964